

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 IO-14 EB-11 DRC-01 OMB-01 /117 W

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R 140415Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2950

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

INFO AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L TAIPEI 5769

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, JA, TW

SUBJECT: THE FUNADA VISIT TO ROC

REF: TOKYO 10992

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: IN SEPARATE CONVERSATIONS WITH JAPANESE LDP VISITOR FUNADA AND PREMIER CCK I DETECTED NO SPECIFIC PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF ROC/JAPAN CIVAIR ISSUE, BUT FUNADA'S VISIT SEEMS AT LEAST TO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN RESUMING PROCESS OF MORE AUTHORITATIVE CONTACTS BETWEEN GOJ AND GROC. IMMEDIATE OBSTACLE REMAINS OHIRA STATEMENT WHICH TAIPEI STILL WANTS CORRECTED, AND GOJ CANNOT WITHDRAW. FUNADA HIMSELF SEEMS TO BE THINKING IN TERMS OF SOME AMENDED JAPANESE STATEMENT CONCEIVABLY COMBINED WITH OTHER GESTURE. END SUMMARY.

2. NAKA FUNADA, GOJ'S UNOFFICIAL EMISSARY TO GROC, CALLED ON ME AT HIS REQUEST SEPT 12. EMPHASIZING HE HAD NOT
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COME AS NEGOTIATOR BUT FOR MORE GENERAL PURPOSES OF

PROMOTING JAPAN/ROC CULTURAL COOPERATION, HE TOLD ME HAD SEEN NUMBER OF CHINESE OFFICIALS INCLUDING PREMIER AND PRESIDENTIAL ADVISOR CHANG CHUN. ON IMMEDIATE ISSUE OF RESUMING CIVIL RELATIONS GROC CONTINUED TO INSIST OHIRA STATEMENT BE WITHDRAWN, OR AMENDED TO REMOVE UNACCEPTABLE AFFRONT TO ITS NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. FUNADA COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT ROC WAS OVERLY CONCERNED WITH QUESTIONS OF FACE WHILE GOJ MIGHT BE OVERLY CONCERNED WITH PRACTICAL ECONOMIC ISSUES. HE SEEMED INTERESTED, IF NOT CONVINCED, BY MY EXPLANATION THAT ROC'S PROBLEM WAS NOT SIMPLY ONE OF FACE: THEY WERE CONCERNED LEST ACQUIESCENCE IN JAPANESE FORMULA ESTABLISH PRECEDENT LEADING TO PROGRESSIVE ISOLATION OF ROC, ULTIMATELY AFFECTING ITS POLITICAL SURVIVAL. IN ANY CASE, FUNADA APPEARED TO RECOGNIZE THAT GOJ WOULD HAVE TO DO SOMETHING TO MODIFY IMPACT OF OHIRA STATEMENT. WHETHER IT REFLECTED A JAPANESE IDEA OR THOUGHTS PUT IN HIS MIND BY ROC OFFICIALS, HE MENTIONED JAPANESE COMMERCIAL COLLABORATION WITH ROC'S TEN LARGE INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS IN WAY SUGGESTING SOME POSSIBLE LINK IN THIS FIELD TO CIVIL ISSUE.

3. FUNADA IMPLIED ROC MIGHT BE STALLING IN HOPES OF FAVORABLE LEADERSHIP CHANGE IN JAPAN. HE FOUND GROC INHIBITED BY DISTRUST OF PRIMIN TANAKA AND HOPES (NURTURED BY PEOPLE SUCH AS ISHI, ISHII, AND THE DISCREDITED SEIRANKAI) THAT FUKUDA WOULD ACCEDE TO LEADERSHIP AND BE BETTER DISPOSED TOWARD ROC. HE SAID HE TRIED TO CONVINCE ROC LEADERS THAT TANAKA AND JAPAN'S DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH PRC WERE POLITICAL FACTS OF LIFE IN JAPAN FOR FORSEEABLE FUTURE. SOMEWHAT CONTRADICTIONALLY, GROC OFFICIALS ALLEGEDLY AGREED WITH FUNADA'S OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE BEST FOR ALL CONCERNED IF FUKUDA WERE TO REJOIN TANAKA CABINET.

4. FUNADA DID NOT ASK FOR, AND I MADE CLEAR THAT USG COULD NOT PLAY INTERMEDIARY ROLE IN MATTER OF SUCH DIRECT CONCERN TO GOJ AND GROC. WE WERE INTERESTED, HOWEVER, IN CIVIL ISSUE BUT EVEN MORE IN CONFIDENTIAL

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IMPROVED JAPAN/ROC RELATIONS IN GENERAL. I PUT PARTICULAR STRESS ON NEED FOR AUTHORITATIVE COMMUNICATION WITH GROC BY GOJ, AND SUGGESTED PREMIER AND OTHER GROC OFFICIALS WERE PRACTICAL MEN DISPOSED TO FIND SOME WAY OUT OF CURRENT IMPASSE.

5. IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION SAME DAY, CCK TOLD ME FUNADA HAD CONVEYED TO HIM MESSAGE FROM TANAKA ABOUT

GOJ'S DESIRE TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL COOPERATION WITH TAIWAN. CCK SAID HE HAD RECIPROCATED BY POINTING TO GROC'S STANDING POLICY OF MAINTAINING FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH "FREEDOM LOVING JAPANESE PEOPLE" DESPITE BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC TIES. CCK SAID HE EMPHASIZED, AND FUNADA REPORTEDLY AGREED, THAT IF TANAKA REALLY WISHED TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS, HIGH-LEVEL AND AUTHORITATIVE CONTACT BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES WAS MOST IMPORTANT. PRESUMABLY ALLUDING TO TOKYO'S PATTERN OF FORMAL DEALINGS WITH PEKING AND BACK DOOR DEALINGS WITH TAIPEI, CCK EMPHASIZED TO ME THAT COMMUNICATION WITH JAPANESE LEADERS WAS ALWAYS COMPLICATED BY THEIR TRYING TO WORK THROUGH BACK ALLEYS WHEREAS HE WISHED TO DEAL DIRECTLY AND OPENLY. I EMPHASIZED OUR FRIENDLY INTEREST IN SOLUTION TO MATTER WHICH, HOWEVER, COULD ONLY BE RESOLVED DIRECTLY BETWEEN GOJ AND GROC. WHILE SHARING CCK'S HOPE FOR AUTHORITATIVE CONTACT, I SAID QUITE FRANKLY THAT JAPAN WAS PULLED IN DIFFERENT DIRECTIONS BY PRC AND ROC CONSIDERATIONS. I TRUSTED THAT SUFFICIENTLY HIGH LEVEL CONTACT COULD BE RESTORED.

6. COMMENT: MY IMPRESSION IS THAT FUNADA TRIP HAS AT LEAST AVOIDED COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE RESULT OF SIMILAR EXPEDITIONS IN RECENT PAST AND MORE HOPEFULLY, MAY BE FIRST STEP IN RESTORATION OF MORE AUTHORITATIVE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN GROC AND GOJ. ALTHOUGH THERE MAY HAVE BEEN SOME SPECIFIC PROGRESS TOWARD RESOLUTION OF CIVAIR ISSUE I DETECTED NO SIGNS OF IT.

FUNADA MADE CLEAR THAT OHIRA STATEMENT, WHICH HE REGRETTED, NEVERTHELESS CANNOT BE RETRACTED, AND CCK MADE CLEAR THAT OHIRA STATEMENT MUST BE MODIFIED TO SATISFY GROC.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CIVIL AVIATION, VISITS, AVIATION AGREEMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 SEP 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: kelleyw0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974TAIPEI05769
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740257-0678
From: TAIPEI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740944/aaaablgu.tel
Line Count: 155
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: TOKYO 10992
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: kelleyw0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUL 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 JUL 2002 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <19 MAR 2003 by kelleyw0>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE FUNADA VISIT TO ROC
TAGS: PFOR, ETRN, JA, TW, (FUNADA, NAKA)
To: STATE TOKYO
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005